4.Lecchem F-5 (1988-1993) 1999 SG4 Accessions SG4

belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of canelo, their sacred tree. To their influence were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or disease in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as malignant with bronze heads. These gods were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Rhodon* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a beast who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Anchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised those of any function, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that a most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the little planet in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Ngenvoñko, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild ox, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Ilcunlayeque*, the spirit of the rain. He appeared as a dwarf with a wolf's head and a wolf's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Chonchonyi*, a human head whose eyes served as wings, a species of vampire who haunted round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1884, p. 147), chachao (Marsilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 46); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra).

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the *gillatun* rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent.

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wuno tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Ñatiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to *ngenechen*, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marsgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Fabrin, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marsgrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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curred." A Pangulpulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an aranko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Aranko live in Pangulpulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (pikn), east (tripawe antü), south (walwen or willimapu), and west (lonkowe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was pikunkürüf; a south wind, walwenkürüf; but a wind from the east is puelche kürüf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or nangu kürüf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'afken kürüf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 824 823

Places in Alepún area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruin of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Collaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the aranco's grove; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifulka (whistle) (pl. 32, *a-c, f*; pp. 93, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifulka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the gillatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 203 534

Alepún area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a bull-bull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuqiful, when no bullbull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a kuqiful). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as six) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the bullbull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If six boats are out and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622, 628 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622, 726 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Regarding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had known—that his father had fought under their cacique, Chenkentju, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers in such formation. Lances were cobble clubs tipped with arrowheads. Arrowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of horsehair polls, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce horsehair lofche. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Chenkentju would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622, 698, 726 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening old woman in her eighties added,

J.L. Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the engines of the first day might be threatened by drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

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After the initial prayer is offered in the special language (archaic) to Antuchen and the ancestors, the fiddlers signals for the performance of aore, which clears the ceremonial field of any lurking forms of evil. This act is so important to the successful conclusion of fiddlers that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

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The front of the main altar, before which the head priest stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (ilatú), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, directs commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the ameliorative ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attention, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the field, where they tether their horses, to begin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by ancestors and the machi's familiars (pillan).

The machi must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (ihuenpeñmachife) who tells the machi the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the machi is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that machi used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blow tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The machi enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (lawen), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and sprinkling water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (machitun). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. Machi agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (am) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a kalku and turned against the machi, and the machi's liberated soul might be captured by a kalku, whereupon the machi herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of machi are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

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772 good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

TABLE II

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LEFT	RIGHT
west	east
north	south
winter	summer
cold	warm
moon	sun
(water)	blood
speech	ritual language
ocean	land
below	above
blue	yellow
black	white
laymen	priest
sin	expiation (ritual)
(outside)	ceremonial field

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. There are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land; sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, north, winter, cold, ocean, below, blue, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, south, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, expiation, altar, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nonoclafken* (*lafken*: ocean; *nono*: other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu*: above; *mapu*: land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female matters.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *füllatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin*: black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikayen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a
more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and
appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but
Jacheehan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly
insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morn-
ing bath never being omitted by men, women, and children,
who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn;
and their dress was much more carefully attended to than
that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are
worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of
any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more
elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-
dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of
ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of
the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered
mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as
by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade
my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians.
They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed
what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he
was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and
brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he
apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white
583 beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
623 wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed